

226 of boats, communicated with this god to insure his favor during the coming fishing season. The old man (*tapu*) decided which of the younger men should make up the boat-fishing group (*notanga*) for the season. None but the men of this group might fish etc. The notanga fishermen were fed by the old man, who gave them cooked talo to take with them each day they went fishing. The fish caught were all brought to the meeting place (*maia*) of the old man and there divided among the people of the island with the proviso that each man of the fishing group was allowed to have the head of the fish he caught in addition to his share of the fish. The group, which caught one one year automatically became the group for catching fish the next year. All fish caught were similarly divided by the old man among the people. The men of the notanga group, which consisted of about four canoe crews, each of five or six men, were taught the elements of net fishing, the rain, tides, and skills before the season started. There were no special names for the crew members. The best fisherman (*tapu*), who was usually also the oldest man of the group, became captain. He was the canoe that always shot the reef passage first. The next canoe to follow had the next oldest man of the notanga as captain, and so on for all the canoes of the notanga.

226 Besides having care of the canoe and fishing gear, the captain of each canoe was responsible for providing basket hooks. He had to provide one hook for each member of the crew, including himself; in a six-oar canoe the captain went fishing with six basket hooks on his basket reef. If, while the canoe was fishing, a storm arose that seemed likely to break the canoe up, the captain gave to each member of the crew one basket hook from those on his reef. Each man tied his hook around his neck to act as a breast ornament (*tau*); were the men drowned thereafter, each went to his death provided with his death ornament. If there were too few hooks to go round the crew, so slight something happen if hooks were lost from the line while fishing, the captain gave to those without hooks any article of value in the canoe—a section of anchor rope or ordinary single-piece hook. In this way no member of the crew lacked a death gift. The theory behind this was that the captain was responsible for getting together his crew, for their safety in this life, and for their dying at sea as well provided with gifts as if they died on land. To give out the gifts was *makayasa*, and the gift itself was *tau*, as distinguished from the death gift on land, *tau*.

Net fishing was a somewhat perilous occupation because the canoe might prove out for heavy load in pursuit of a shoal of fish and, caught in a storm, be unable to make a landfall again.

226 The canoes of the notanga left the village early in the morning. As they passed the reef called Te Ulu-mana-o-te-tahaka, which juts out of the water opposite Yato village, the captain placed a male, hook, or single coconut leaf on this rock as a gift (*makayasa*) to the god *Makohine*, that the god would give the canoes good fortune. It was tapu for any canoe going across the reef to scrape the bottom or the coral. If a canoe did this, it could not proceed farther but had to return to the village without fishing during the day. Rain drives away basket fish from the surface, and if the canoe did not sight fish after patrolling for some time, it was permissible for them to return to the reef to rest. All the crew, save only the bowmen, might step out on the reef and walk about; if the bowmen forgot the tapu and stepped out, the whole crew had immediately to return to the village without further delay, even if meantime a shoal of fish had been sighted. If this tapu was disobeyed, the canoe was likely to be destroyed by lightning. When the victims of such a mishap as the breaking of a tapu returned to the village, they were greeted with insults and labeled *nganga* etc. (stinking sponge birds). The shame of the crew was great if later in the day the other canoes of the group returned loaded with fish.

226 Basket was not regarded as a fish (*ika*) but as an animal (*manu*). Fishermen learned basket schools by the *haka* (*haka*) of *makohine* following them. Canoes trilled up and down outside the reef. The captain sat against the basket reef, which was sup-

225 right and the free end tied to the outrigger. As long as the turtle is attached to the outrigger, it will not swim. The fishermen wait for a canoe from shore. The turtle is lifted into the canoe and taken ashore.

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825 In both these methods great care is taken to prevent the penis (tail) of the male turtle from locking the fisherman's leg against the carapace. Once this is done, the grip is vicious; the turtle swims, drowning the fisherman. The tail is also a formidable weapon. If it pierces the body of the fisherman, pruritus and death are extremely likely. The male turtle is much more difficult to catch than the female.

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825 3. Males were, turning over the female turtle on the beach. The turtle-laying season begins with the morning rising of the Pleiades and continues until their evening rising. Only the two green turtles lay eggs on Pukapukan beaches. The fisherman goes to the outer beaches and watches for turtle tracks or turtle nests in the sand. When he finds a nest, he counts the eggs. It is believed that the female turtle returns to her nest after a given number of days depending on the number of eggs in the nest. Thus if there are 120 eggs or more in the nest, she is expected to return in 8 nights to lay again; if there are 80 eggs, she will return in 10 nights; if there are 40 eggs, in 11 or 12 nights; if 20 eggs, in 14 nights. The outer beach is then watched on the appropriate night at the full of the tide. When the female turtle comes ashore, she is turned over on her back and rendered helpless.

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262 Formerly all turtles were taken to the meeting place of the old men and there the meat, fat, eggs, and shell were divided among the people of the island. The man who caught the turtle was given its head besides his share of the flesh. For the old men were reserved the belly fat (pukalanga) and the major internal organs (apukun maku). It was taboo for any others but old men to eat these parts on pain of sickness and grey hair. The custom of dividing a turtle among all members of the community survives today.

OCTOPUS AND CRAYFISH

226 The Pukapukan lives on other creatures of the sea or reef besides fish to provide him with food. The long-tentacled octopus (*maia makuhe lae*) and the short-tentacled octopus (*maia makuhe pao*) are caught for bait, but they are not eaten.

Formerly they were speared or fished with line and hook. Today a common way to catch them is to throw several handfuls of coral lime (*poupe*) into an octopus hole. The lime dissolves and causes the animal to emerge, when it is speared or grasped with the hands. Squid (*makuhe*) is eaten and used as bait. It is speared or caught with a hook.

Saltwater crayfish (*aka*) live in communities in large holes in the reef. Knowledge of these holes is kept secret by those fortunate enough to know them. One who knows where they are can pick out a crayfish from his hole at any time; others fish for *aka* in any likely hole on the reef shell.

The best time for finding crayfish is on the first three nights of the new moon after sunset. Using a torch, a man visits holes of the reefs and picks out the *aka* with his hands (*lafoa aka* or *taupe aka*). Crayfish are caught also during the nights of the full moon at high tide. They are sometimes caught in torch fishing (*lafoa taupe*) or in seine netting at dusk. A final method is to fish for them in holes, with a red, a blue-green barbed hook, *lafoa taupe*, and plenty of bait.

136 sharp, long-spined porcupine); *talo pu mutumutu* (a short-spined porcupine); and *alulu aluu* (a small, bluish-spined porcupine). If a fisherman steps on the *kolomoa*, a sharp-spined starfish, when walking on the reef, his foot is stuck full of spines. He turns over the *kolomoa*, places his foot on the suction pads of the creature, and allows it to suck out the spines from his foot. Five varieties of *bêche-de-mer* are: *matua below*, *louili lula*, *louili uli*, *louili aluu*, and *louili tau-pule-pule*, which live under the sand. *Unakoa* is a mollusk that lives in a tapering tunnel in the coral. If stepped on, its poisonous shell produces terrible sores in the foot. The shellfish *veluyi* (*Nerita pelita*) found on beach or reef, is used as a head for the water bottle scraper, also called *veluyi*. If a man found a jellyfish (*haluhalu* *mooni* and *ngake*) on the reef, he took it home, carefully sun-dried it, and hung it up to the rafters inside the house, for it was believed to have been sent by the god of the paternal lineage and was taken as a sign of the god's good favor. Two varieties of sea centipede are *molokas lei* and *valou*. Only 226 the *valou* are caught and eaten. To obtain them a noose is made in a piece of two-ply twisted sennit and held over the entrance of the sea centipede's hole. Chum of any kind is placed in and around the hole. When the *valou* comes from the hole to get the chum, the noose is drawn tight. Another method is to spear the *valou* through the head as it comes forth to get the chum.

CRAB

Three varieties of crab (generic name *tapua*) are caught on the outer benches on certain nights of the moon and two stages are distinguished in the monthly growth of the three varieties:

Kapea are caught on the thirteenth and fourteenth nights; *tupe*, on the fifteenth and sixteenth nights; and *houva* (robber crab) on the seventeenth and eighteenth nights. During these nights the crabs move from the bush to the sea to wash and change their shells. On other nights of the moon crabs for bait can be obtained inland with more difficulty. On the evening before a man plans a fishing expedition, his children go out with torches after dark, hunting around trees in the bush and in holes. The crabs are put into a basket and kept until ready for use. Enough crabs for one or two weeks' fishing may be collected at one time.

226 In the first stage of growth (*hou va tapua*) during the new and full moon the crab is filled with fat much esteemed as a food delicacy. In the second stage (*tupe va tapua*) the fat has turned into yellow masses of eggs that are bursting from the abdomen of the animal. Crabs are not eaten at this time because neither eggs nor fat are considered tasty. *Kapea* is protected at the present time by a general agreement (*pulepule*) because it is thought to be dying out. Only large *houva* are killed; young 262 *houva* caught accidentally are freed. Robber crabs in the reserves are kept as reserve food supplies and are caught only by arrangement by the people of the village. This communal catching and distribution of crabs among the people of the village (*houva houva*) enable all the people of the village to share in the food delicacy. If *houva* were not reserved (*houva*), children and active young people would hunt them all the time, and the older people might not receive their fair share. 185

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Canoes built on old style models are the small plank canoe (*totei*) with washtrakes, bow and stern covers; the large plank canoe (*vaka tui totei*; pl. 5.4) with through and through lashing of the hull and washtrake sections; another large plank canoe (*vaka tui outeli*; pl. 5.5) with inside flange lashing of the hull sections; the large double canoe (*taulua*) in which two canoe hulls are lashed together by cross booms. The number of outrigger booms in all types of canoes ranges from two to six, two being common. Multiple booms are used for some large canoes.

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There is no origin legend for any of these types of canoe save the bare statement that the first canoes were modeled on the shapes of the whale and a species of shark. A fragment is told, however, which indicates an early consciousness in Pukapuka of the superior workmanship of Samoan canoe builders. Two Samoan craftsmen, Kaviki and Vailaki, came to Pukapuka during a voyage of exploration. During their stay in Pukapuka, they engaged in a competition to see who could build the better canoe after the Pukapukan models. Kaviki made a *tui totei* canoe, Vailaki a *tui outeli* canoe. In both, the hull sections were so closely joined that none could see the seams on the outside of the hull. There is no tradition that the two Samoans effected in any way Pukapukan canoe-building technique.

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Preferred woods for canoe building are: *makomoko* and *ueta* for hull sections; *paupae* for washtrakes and outrigger cross booms; *palume* for the outrigger float; *apagao* for outrigger connecting pegs, diagonal braces, and lifting bars. Most single-piece dugout canoes are built of *pukama* (hence its name, *poi pukama*), with outrigger float of the same wood and connecting pegs of *apagao* wood.

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FIGURE 24.—Medium-sized Pukapukan canoe in Bernice P. Bishop Museum: outrigger detached for storage; lashing together of canoe hull by through-and-through method; metal plates have been added to outside of hull joins to protect against lashings from being covered by sharp coral. (Reproduced from Macgregor, *op. cit.*, fig. 8.)

FIGURE 25.—Six-boom canoe. a, view of starboard side: 1, bow section of hull; 2, middle sections; 3, stern section; 4, washtrake; 5, fore section of bow cover; 6, after section of bow cover; 7, forward wave guard; 8, stern cover; 9, after wave guard and back deck; 10, stern cover decorative cleat; 11, bar rest for trelling pole, used also as seat; 12, spar below which lifting poles are inserted to carry canoe; 13, stern outrigger boom; 14, bow outrigger boom; 15, secondary outrigger boom made necessary by heavy weight of large outrigger; 16, middle outrigger boom. b, top view: 1, bow cover sections; 2, stern cover; 3, gunwale; 4, wider upper edge of hull; 5, outrigger boom, extending in this large canoe well beyond starboard side; 6, outrigger float; 7, secondary boom running to (8) longitudinal spar; 9, post with hole for supporting mast, a modern method of support found on only a few canoes; 10, connecting peg between boom and float; 11, diagonal brace between boom (5) and outrigger connecting pegs (10). Canoe lashed by through-and-through method, used mainly for transporting supplies between Vaini, the village of its owner, and Motu Kotawa. (Reproduced from Macgregor, *op. cit.*, fig. 9.)

[538] is probable; however, that the woman Kutu lied to her husband as to her reasons for going to the bush and the gods wished to punish her for her false speech. She very neatly turned the tables on the gods in a manner that the Pukapukan finds exceedingly humorous. The story is very popular with adults and children.

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Kutu was a woman of Pukapuka. The gods made a wood bowl in which to place Kutu and carry her away. They went to her house but she saw them approach and climbed a tree, from which she refused to budge. At last she became frightened at the huge concourse of gods. Then she climbed down the tree, suspended herself from the lowermost branch and jumped inside the bowl which the gods raised up to her. The gods carried her off in procession chanting all the while,

Oh Kutu, Kutu is dying.
She spoke falsely in the bush,
She desired two penises,
She desired three penises,
Wet and dripping over.
Her fundament is hard and full.

As the gods proceeded on their way Kutu began to defecate inside the bowl. When the gods saw this they crowded around the bowl and so many were they that the pushing and jostling caused the bowl to fall to the ground. Those near by were immediately splashed with the feces. Those far away were not satisfied until they too were splashed by the contents of the bowl. Not a single god was left clean. Then all were happy.

Gods of the Sea

Stories of the gods Tipeva, Kanapu and Totoloa are based on the Pukapukan idea that it is these gods who control the movements of deep sea fish. These fish are believed to be the sweethearts of the gods and are thought to carry to their masters all the pearl-shell fishhooks that they bite from the lines of the fishermen.

Tipeva and Kanapu were two gods of the sea. Their sweethearts (*ipo*) were the *kakai* and other large fish [the narrator mentions the names of nine of these.] When the men went fishing, they prayed to these gods to allow their fish sweethearts to be caught. When the fishhooks were broken from the line, it was taken to Tipeva and by him fastened in the thatch of his house. Tipeva had an *avekula* fish as his favored mistress and the two would place their sleeping mats on the rocks of the